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01-08-2018 FOIA # 55733  
DOCID: 33002795

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**BF 157-5411**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California

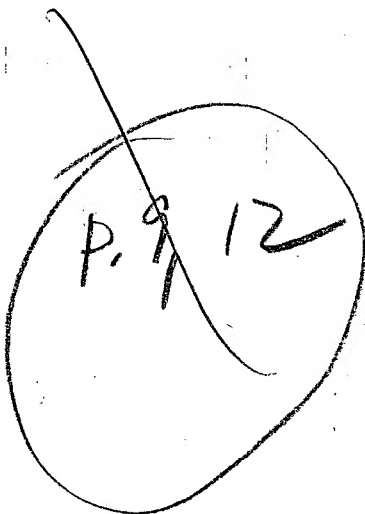
In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

October 30, 1972

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(TRPCTITBPP)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It formerly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. Since early 1971, it has preached a policy of "survival pending revolution."

On April 6, 1972, an article appeared in the "Berkeley Post", a weekly newspaper, entitled "Question Panther Leadership, Says 'People's' Group". The article was written by Mary Ellen Perry, Senior Staff Writer, and is as follows:



157-54111-1

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - WASH. FIELD OFFICE	
Benson JWS	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Question Panther Leadership, Says 'People's' Group

By Mary Ellen Perry,  
Senior Staff Writer

A spokesman for a group calling itself the "Revolutionary People's Commission to Investigate the Black Panther Party" has called for the public to "begin to ask question's" of the party's leadership.

Spokesman Robert Anderson said the group believes the Black Panther Party "has been steered away from its commitment to the revolution -

ary process," and "is now trying to seek sanctuary behind establishment institutions while exercising Mafia-type tactics to kill off internal dissent."

A printed statement of the Revolutionary People's Commission to Investigate the Black Panther Party accuses the party leadership of having "committed the greatest crime a revolutionist could commit--murder."

The statement says that the "murder of Sandra Pratt (the wife of Elmer Pratt, now in

prison in Tracy, and one of the Panther 18 arrested during the 1969 police-Panther conflict in Los Angeles), Fred Bennett, George Jackson and Robert Webb--to name a few--have necessitated the people to find them (the party leadership) guilty and take steps to insure they will never take the life of another revolutionist."

The statement begins with the assertion:

"We must fully understand that there is no hope of winning our freedom through the electoral process or any other legitimate establishment type activities."

"The history of our struggle for the last ten years," it continues, "i.e. civil rights acts, voter registration drives and black elected officials have not changed our relationship to those corporate fascists who control the economics of the world."

"Huey P. Newton recently stated that revolution is impossi-

ble and we must work within the system to achieve our goals," a position with which the Commission disagrees, Anderson said.

The Commission said "counter-revolutionary crime activities" were "carried out at the expense of true revolutionists who saw the contradictions within the party and moved to give it a new forward thrust."

It referred to "some of us still locked up behind prison walls -- abandoned by the party because we would not compromise our revolutionary principles."

"A revolutionist is a bandit outlawed and hunted for life by the fascist system; the party is now legitimate, secure and comfortable at the expense of our blood," it said.

The statement called for abandonment of "reformist" organizations and organizing decentralized political machinery to "support our political projects, clinics, food, clothing, housing and educational projects operating out of our community peoples committees."

It called also for support of "our growing Black Liberation Army units now being recruited from communities across the country," and for a continuance of "the

revolutionary courage to say what we wish and believe and also the courage to act upon it."

#### NOT CLEAVERS

In talking with The POST, Anderson said the Commission was not taking its direction from the Eldridge Cleaver group in Algeria.

He said what the Commission wants people to do is "start thinking about and analyzing the direction of the party and the direction of the Black liberation struggle inside this country."

Anderson said the Commission asks the following questions:

\*"Fred Bennett's body was discovered a year ago in the Santa Cruz mountains? Where's his murderer? Has the Party volunteered any information?"

\*"Who killed Robert Webb in New York? Did the Panthers kill him?"

\*"What was George Jackson's relationship to the party?"

\*"What happened to the original manuscript of 'Blood in My Eye'?"

\*"Is the party the recipient of a \$50,000 Ford Foundation grant? If so, what happened to one of the 26 rules of the Black Panther Party that no branch or chapter can receive government funds without the clearance of the Central Committee? By accepting funds, is the

party dropping this rule?"

\*"What about all the Panthers that are locked up -- what is the Party doing to get them out of jail?"

\*"Why was Roosevelt Hilliard (brother of David Hilliard and a member of the Central Committee) never arrested? He was in New Haven with Alex Rackley--why was he never tried?" (Rackley's death led to a murder trial in Connecticut of Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale and Panther Ericka Huggins, both of whom were acquitted of murder charges).

#### VANGUARD

"It's 'right on' that people should be fed, there should be clinics and breakfast programs," Anderson told The POST. "But once such programs are established, the people should continue them and the vanguard party should go on to other things. You cannot lead the masses from a rearguard position."

Anderson said it was "not real" for the

Party to "tell our people that by voting they'll get their freedom." He said the revolution was "worldwide, not just here in Babylon."

"The brothers in Africa want to know what we are going to do," he said, adding he thought that the Blacks in South Africa do not want American Black celebrities such as tennis player Arthur Ashe, golfer Lee Elder and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins visiting their country as the guests of the white racist government.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(TRPCTITBPP)

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The April 14-28, 1972, issue of the "Berkeley Tribe" contains an article concerning criticism of the Black Panther Party (BPP). According to the article, the information set forth was received in the mail from the East Coast. At the end of the article are the names of two organizations, which are the "United Front For Armed Struggle" (UFAS) and "People's Commission To Investigate The Black Panther Party". This article was entitled, "Without A People's Army, The People Have Nothing." This article is set forth below:

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# "without a people's army, the people have nothing"

*The following article comes to us in the mail from the east coast. It contains two interlocking themes, a criticism of the Black Panther Party and a discussion of the tactics of armed struggle in urban areas. We are printing it in the spirit of open criticism and in the belief that the disenfranchised elements of the Black Panther Party deserve to be heard.*

The events of the last two years have caused considerable alarm within the revolutionary movement. During the first two years in which the BPP was truly setting revolutionary examples, their efforts were naturally met with the necessary force to stifle its growth. The early part of the sixties saw attempts made to integrate the economic system while simultaneously there was growing a strong nationalist movement. The challenge to the fascist arrangement was the next stage in the development. As long as integrationist and black nationalists allowed themselves to be coopted by Ford Foundation, and compromised and reduced ineffectual by the

fascist ability to reform when necessary, there would never be any upward surge of consciousness. The BPP, adopting the principles of Marxist-Leninism, armed self-defense, and community programs to arm the people with political consciousness, became the first serious challenge to the fascist arrangement, thereby becoming the number one target for the tactics of repression initiated by all levels of the police. The failure of the BPP to respond to these tactics appropriately, however, is the primary concern of our struggle at the present—so that we may stop, reflect, re-analyze, and put forth a strategy which will not permit antitheses to die. Re-

pression must be met with greater resistance, a change in our tactical approach to the problem at hand.

Before we can even intensify and discuss the new tactical approach we must once and for all, with clarity, objectively analyze the most important contradiction within the party which could account for its tactical failure to respond to the growing tide of repression. The two major criticisms are unprincipled leadership and bad organizational tactics. A true Marxist-Leninist would invite criticism of his mistakes and would not threaten a person's life because of fundamental disagreement on contradictory behaviour. A true Marxist would see criticism as a necessary part of revolutionary growth. When Huey P. Newton stated the new position of the BPP on Black Capitalism, he stated that the Party had diverted from its original vision through its military actions and therefore strayed from the black community. Therefore, in order to get back into the good graces of the community it was necessary to embrace the church, black capitalism, voter registration, and ending with an unmistakable statement claiming that we could work within the system while denying the possibility of total revolutionary transformation of society. Objectively, the problem should not have been as Newton stated. For it was the people who came out and protected the Panthers when they were attacked in Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Detroit. An objective analysis and a principled stand would have concluded that it wasn't that the Party strayed away from the community, nor did the community need to be taught its ABC's, no. It was bad military tactics and political judgment to allow—after nationwide repression of the Party—the military apparatus and the political apparatus to remain one national organization. Besides, it was Huey, not Eldridge, who initiated the Executive Mandates, Remember!

Huey Newton has now aligned the BPP with the ideological and political ideas of the black bourgeoisie. Huey Newton's inability or refusal to deal with the question of organizational strategy and overall tactics to be used to implement the correct military and political strategies is a contradiction within the revolutionary process which must be corrected. The BPP is afraid of armed struggle, and wants to avoid having to lay down any principles for it by doing everything in its power to hamper its growth. Consequently, instead of developing the necessary machinery to allow continuous lashing out at the fascist arrangement, the party has allowed its momentum and that

part of its positive movement to be funneled off into safe, secure areas of establishment activities, i.e. voting, supporting capitalism, running candidates for office.

The most important thing to note however, is that the Party leadership has overestimated the importance of legitimate forms of struggle, and when the opening stage of urban guerrilla warfare had set in, the Party turned their backs on these new tasks, refused to even shoulder the burden!

Consequently, instead of a developing revolutionary theory from analyzing past mistakes we wind up with theoretical postulates of intercommunalism and regression to an era of reformist politics based on the acceptance of legitimized, camouflaged mass participatory democracy, all of which are divorced from actual revolutionary struggle. For the sake of appearances, some mention was made of survival pending revolution, but of course that was said for the sake of those who hadn't stopped believing that the Black Panther Party was truly a revolutionary party. Instead of revolutionary policy being translated into revolutionary action, there was political bargaining with judges, police, politicians—political scheming—such as the Party's relationship with black public officials who have now moved to register Negroes to vote. Finally, instead of the party members being trained and taught correct revolutionary tactics on the basis of its own mistakes there was conscious evasions of questions concerning correct methods, tactics, and strategy; anything that was incorrect about the Party was absolutely covered over—locked away.

The most interesting of these locked away secrets and the one we should be concerned with was the tactical errors made by the Party leadership between 1968-1970. What most people don't realize is the fact that the BLA really had its origin

with Bunchy. He was the original hunter, the hunter who hunted the hunter. It was only after he hooked up with Bobby and Huey that he made a fatal mistake. At that time the Party righteously attempted to merge the military and the political into one functional unit. Using this method for organizing a political and military apparatus was a mistake, it was obviously impossible to be a guerrilla at night and a Breakfast Program coordinator during the day. All across the country the Party's organizational structure was the same, some section leaders and their troops were the guerrillas at night and paper sellers during the day and housed in fixed centers with weapons to wait for a new con-

frontation. As the party increased with popularity, so did their membership and their new membership now was composed of agents. Remember, it was BOSS, an intelligence division out of NYC, that organized the NY chapter of the BPP. So now when we went out on operations it was fairly predictable that an office would be raided. A professional revolutionary organization would never combine a political and military apparatus as one national organization with membership open to the public—especially the American public.

During 1969-1970, the Party was met with tremendous oppression and the people in the community correspondingly developed a collective consciousness of resistance—remember how many people protected the brothers and sisters in New Orleans, Los Angeles, Detroit. That was the period in which the Party was supposed to be developing underground networks. It was then when a new tactical approach was needed. Thousands and thousands of people were now being armed with a political consciousness and it appeared that a truly vanguard Party—tested in actual com-

bat—had emerged. In fact the real party went underground, the Army went to work to further develop the underground network. It was then that Geronimo (remember Elmer G. Pratt) was busted in Texas with some other members of the Underground. It was only until later that we recognized that Cotten Smith (who was also the informer against the LA 13, and who was sent by Elaine Brown) was the one designated to infiltrate and destroy the underground movement.

It was at this point that Huey became illogical, failed in his historical obligation to the people. For he thought that the military should become subordinate to the political apparatus. Our analysis of armed struggle, especially scientific political-military guerrilla warfare, states that the vanguard is action. Action reasoned out, thought out, analyzed and reanalyzed according to the objective conditions, and then these well thought out ideas put to the actual test in the theater of combat. The guerrilla is not subordinate to no dictates from the 25th floor, he is subordinate to action, concrete armed revolutionary action, grounded within a particular political matrix. For those reasons and those reasons only was Geronimo and other guerrillas expelled, set-up, and murdered by the Party. Huey wanted to be Godfather.

The flow and ebb of the movement of all things are essentially dialectical. In the movement of things there is always a rise and a fall to a thing. There are times when



tactics which we might have used at one time no longer have practical value.

The BPP at this stage has ebbed, they are no longer useful as vanguard elements. Because things are constantly changing so must we change our tactical approach to objective conditions. If we refuse, or hide from, the development of new valid methods of revolutionary struggle, antithesis will die. This is the age of guerrilla (the Third Internationale); the urban guerrilla must be a scientific political-military genius. He must be clandestine, hidden, but also he might be your postman, auto-mechanic, lawyer! He must work in small teams—no more than four in each squad—but they must come from friends and relatives. Our skills consist of many, auto-mechanics, carpentry, electronics, medicine, gunsmiths, all of these skills must be combined in one guerrilla. So we must choose and start our preparations. We practice closed mouth because the last time we talked too much, we allowed too many people to know our business. From each of us must come a development of a political triangle and a military triangle. If there are 3 in each triangle, the total number is 6. If there are 8 in our cadre, that means that the total number of the two triangles are 48, 24 military and 24 political,  $6 \times 8$  equals 48 new recruits. But they would be 48 close friends and relatives. That particular tactic for recruitment is almost completely effective because of the long time closeness of a friend or relative. We must talk among ourselves, plan among ourselves, and act among ourselves. We must know only what's necessary for each one to carry out his work. But first we must understand that as long as we identify ourselves with an organization that has been infiltrated, bought off, and refuses to fight, we will only be misled down the corridors of establishment legitimate activities i.e. voting and running for office, while standing in line waiting for someone to give us a bag of groceries. We may have been demoralized because we have been lied to, fooled, let down, sold-out; but we must recognize that demoralization breeds disunity, therefore we need to clarify once and for all our past mistakes so that we can make some intelligent decisions about our future tactics

and strategies for armed struggle.

We who are Marxist-Leninist-Maoist-Jacksonist recognize that an overall politico-military strategy is necessary to put forth some machinery based on a strategy of free and aggressive action which will change the correlation of power between the people and the corporate fas-

cists pursuing three tactical objectives:

(a) To grow ~~to develop~~ the guerrilla army, the logistics and mass front, i.e. people's projects, defense committees, and infiltration of establishment agencies.

(b) To weaken the enemy—armed assaults within a political matrix.

(c) To isolate and destroy the Party's attempt to compromise our struggle with establishment institutions.

Our first and immediate conclusion is that any national organization already infiltrated and taken over by elements which have already set back the revolutionary process must be abandoned! We must analyze our past mistakes and project a decentralized scientific socialism because these concepts are much older than modern western man—our forefathers in Africa applied them to their particular set of conditions and developed a collective society where no man was lacking in his basic needs and desires, where no man feared being robbed by another. So we must continue to study the science of dialectical materialism, but relate it to our particular set of conditions. Because we are politico-military scientists we have learned from our past mistakes that we must decentralize and build on each local level the type of political and military machinery which will bring us positive results. On each local level friends and relatives must develop political cadres to administer the peoples political projects. Health services, schools, housing, and food projects operating out of community peoples committees must be developed while educating the people to the principle that mass fronts are only for the purpose of assisting people to help themselves while they nourish, protect, and shelter our growing Black Liberation Army units now being recruited from communities across the country. If local projects were developed on each local level among friends and relatives and they initiated contact with other friends and relatives in other locations you can see the logical outcome, a string of networks for the guerrilla to move. This developing mass front would provide the guerrilla who has been hunted, who is exposed, with information, transportation, money, and any other supplies the guerrilla might need.

Let's be hypothetical for a moment. Let's take a fairly large city. On three of

the sides of town there are oppressed blacks. Let's say that friends and relatives on each side of town infiltrated health service boards, public agency boards, and begin to funnel resources into community projects, i.e. health programs, food conspiracies, etc. They could then on a local level have access to resources that they could turn over to their army, the guerrilla units which might be hidden in their particular zone of influence. The mass legal front is the needed barrier between the fascist and the guerrillas. Without them the guerrilla is naked-exposed. From this mass front will eventually come those future members of the Liberation Army who have proven beyond a doubt their dedication to armed struggle. Think of the potential power in the concept of decentralized, unknown political cadres working from within the ranks of friends and relatives developing peoples projects throughout the country while slowly emerges the new BLA along with the network that will follow from such a tactical approach. Imagine, hidden guerrilla units across this country, cold, bold, calculating, swift, and deadly! Our emerging revolutionary culture must be an armed revolutionary culture!

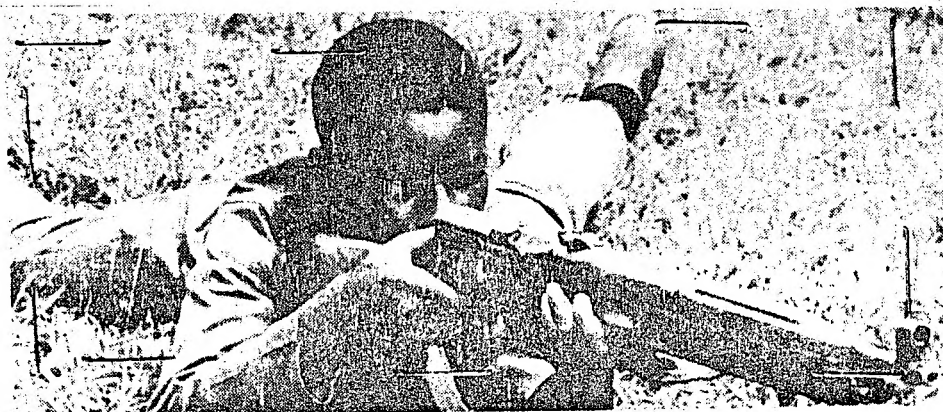
An example of the success of this tactical approach can be measured in a particular city we infiltrated. Three of us contacted a long time friend in another city. The four of us took the responsibility for developing the triangle approach. Each of us was responsible for the development of a political triangle and then a military triangle, with the selections coming by way of us choosing those whose credentials are impeccable. We allowed no one to choose us, thus reducing greatly the possibility of infiltration. Thus, we had developed a combination of 24 people, 12 for the guerrilla front. After these 24 have gone through periods of intensive training then each of them develops the triangle even



further, twenty-four people choosing six people apiece, three for each camp, the guerrilla forces have now been multiplied to one hundred forty-four tied together by bonds of friendship and blood. It meant that each contact who organized a particular triangle would know no more than two people each, it would not be necessary to make legal names and functions public.

Now, let's get back to the original four; each of their political triangles (12 people) could function on development of health programs, food conspiracies, infiltrate key public boards, public institutions, corporations, the military, even the police. With the proper political education and gradual involvement in revolutionizing activity, these carefully screened individuals will become our eyes, ears; they will provide money, food, shelter, and protection while the guerrilla units have time to grow into the People's Liberation Army united to destroy the international counterrevolutionary fascist arrangement.

UNITED FRONT FOR ARMED STRUGGLE (UFAS)  
PEOPLE'S COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE RPP



THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES DESTROYED BOTH PANTHER COMMUNITY CENTERS AND  
RAN ALL THE PANTHERS OUT OF OUR COMMUNITIES.

We must fully understand that there is no hope of winning our freedom  
through electoral process or any other legitimate establishment type activities.  
The history of our struggle for the last ten years, i.e., civil rights acts,  
voter registration drives and black elected officials haven't changed our rela-  
tionship to those corporate fascists who control the economics of the world.  
Huey P. Newton recently stated that a revolution is impossible and we must work  
within the system to achieve our goals. The people must understand that the  
Party has been steered away from its commitment to the revolutionary process;  
it is now trying to seek sanctuary behind establishment institutions while  
exercising "mafia type tactics" to kill off internal dissent. The leadership  
have committed the greatest crime a revolutionist could commit...murder. The  
murder of Sandra Pratt, Fred Bennett, George Jackson and Robert Webb, to name  
a few, have necessitated the people to find them guilty and take steps to  
insure they will never take the life of another revolutionist.

The Party leadership has always been thoroughly infiltrated and taken over  
by agent type, mafia type people who have now succeeded in steering the Party  
into safe ~~establishment~~ <sup>establishment</sup> type activities. All of these counter-revolutionary ac-  
tivities were done at the expense of true revolutionists who saw the contra-  
dictions within the party and moved to give it a new forward thrust. There  
are some of us who are still locked up behind prison walls - abandoned by the  
party because we would not compromise our revolutionary principles. A revolu-  
tionist is a bandit outlawed and hunted for life by the fascist system; the  
party is now legitimate, secure and comfortable at the expense of our blood.

We must abandon organizations, especially organizations composed of  
elements which would lead us astray. We must analyze our past mistakes and pro-  
ject a decentralized Marxist Political and Military apparatus across the coun-  
try. We must now decentralize and build on a local level the type of political machi-  
nery which will mobilize thousands of people to support our political projects,  
clinics, food, clothing, housing and educational projects operating out of our

community peoples' committees. These committees must come from our friends and relatives because they are needed to nourish, protect and shelter our growing Black Liberation Army units now being recruited from communities across the country. We must be free of infiltrators this time, taking it back to the streets, we now only chose those we know, trust-irrevocably! The key is to ~~develop~~ develop new methods of struggle and continue to have the revolutionizin courage to say what we wish and believe, and also the courage to act upon it.

WAR WITHOUT TERMS  
REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/30/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-7727) (P)

SUBJECT: THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
EM - BPP

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 6/23/72; New York letter to San Francisco dated 8/24/72, and New York letter to the Bureau dated 10/20/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination.

Enclosed for the New York, Los Angeles and Washington Field Offices is one (1) copy of enclosed LHM and one (1) photograph each of WILLIE RUBIN TURNER, DAVID JACKSON, PAUL FLEMING and JAMES WALTER EVANS.

The above are being furnished Washington Field inasmuch as MARY ELLEN PERRY, who had written the article which appeared in the "Berkeley Post" is currently residing in Washington, D.C., while on a journalism fellowship. It is anticipated that it will be necessary to show her photographs of the above persons in efforts to identify the person known to her as ROBERT ANDERSON.

## AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Attempts to determine nature of the RPCTITBPP and its members through contact with San Francisco Division extremist informants have been negative to date.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 5) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Encs. 5) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encs. 5) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (Encs. 5) (Info.) (RM)
- 7 - San Francisco  
(2 - 157-7727)  
(1 - 157-3497) (PAUL MICHAEL FLEMING)  
(1 - 157-6088) (JAMES WALTER EVANS)  
(1 - 157-5771) (DAVID JACKSON)  
(1 - 157-6366) (DEBORAH A. PORTER)  
(1 - 157-4634) (WILLIE R. TURNER)

SLK/sad (S-6)  
(12)



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Bresson

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SF 157-7727  
SLK/sad

Attempts to locate and exhibit photographs of persons considered likely to be members of this group to MARY ELLEN PERRY have been negative.

On 10/25/72, it was determined from ANN CASH, 1614 Channing Way, Berkeley, California, that MARY ELLEN PERRY had formerly resided at 1616 Channing Way, Berkeley. Mrs. CASH stated that she is a close personal friend of Mrs. PERRY and that she is currently in Washington, D.C., having been awarded a journalism fellowship. Mrs. CASH does not know Mrs. PERRY's address or how to contact her but stated that Mrs. PERRY is expected to call her in the near future and give her her address and telephone number. Mrs. CASH stated that she would explain to Mrs. PERRY that the FBI wished to contact her about an article she had written on the Revolutionary People's Commission To Investigate The Black Panther Party. Mrs. CASH further stated that she would advise the FBI, Berkeley Office, of Mrs. PERRY's address when she obtains it.

LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. Will maintain contact with Mrs. ANN CASH, 1614 Channing Way, concerning address of MARY ELLEN PERRY.

TO: CHIEF CLERK	Date
Subject	Social Security Account #

Aliases

Address	Birth Date	Birthplace	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
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<input type="checkbox"/> Exact Spelling	<input type="checkbox"/> Main Criminal Case Files Only	<input type="checkbox"/> Restrict to Locality of _____
<input type="checkbox"/> All References	<input type="checkbox"/> Criminal References Only	
<input type="checkbox"/> Main Subversive Case Files Only	<input type="checkbox"/> Main Subversive (if no Main, list all Subversive References)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Subversive References Only	<input type="checkbox"/> Main Criminal (if no Main, list all Criminal References)	

File & Serial Number	Remarks	File & Serial Number	Remarks
<i>Harry Perry</i> <i>46-28814</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>Harry E. Perry</i> <i>77-25800</i>	<i>NI</i>
<i>105-96347-9 P.2</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>140-1-Sub E 9746</i>	<i>NI</i>
<i>100-157-3955</i>	<i>NI</i>		
<i>100-22829-Sub E-151, P.9</i>		<i>65-3683 Sub 1-2161</i>	<i>NI</i>
<i>100-421E-126 P.9</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>C2 Index P.11736</i>	<i>NI</i>
<i>100-421E-123 P.6</i>	<i>NI</i>		

Requested by	Squad	Extension	File No.
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Searched by

(date)

Consolidated by

(date)

Reviewed by

*SA RONALD S SHAW* (date)

File Review Symbols

*I* Identical ? - Not identifiable  
NI - Not identical U - Unavailable reference





File No. 157-5411-1A<sup>①</sup>Date Received 11/6/72From F. B. I.  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

San Francisco  
(CITY AND STATE)By M. L. Bresson  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☒ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☒ No

## Description:

Photos re:  
Willie Rubin-Turner  
David Jackson  
Paul Fleming  
James Walter Evans

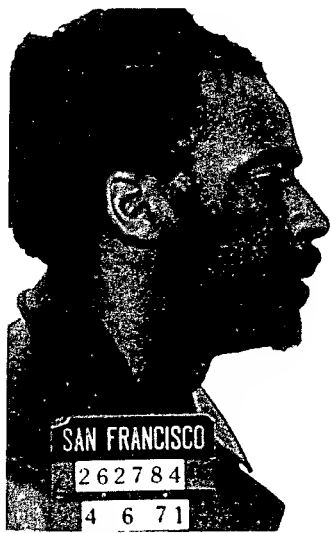


MARK ANDREW CINQUE

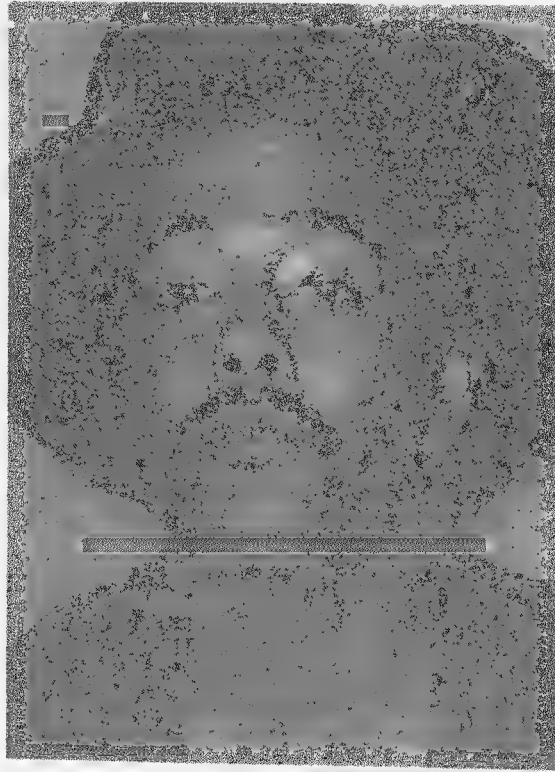
*Paul Michael Fleming*

WFO-157-5411-1A<sup>①</sup> (2)

~~157-3497-1A<sup>(3)</sup>~~



JOHN T. WHITE



---

James H. Evans

WFO-157-5411-1A<sup>①</sup>  
~~157-6058-1A(3)~~



David Jackson

157-5411-11<sup>(1)</sup>

157-5711A(4)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, WFO (157- 5411)

DATE: 12/19/72

FROM : SA THOMAS HENRY BRESSON

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
EM- BPP

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, 10/30/72

Referenced letter set forth lead for San Francisco Division to obtain address in WDC for MARY ELLEN PERRY, and for WFO to thereafter interview PERRY. This lead is pending to date.

Local telephone and criss cross directories are negative for PERRY.

On 12/12/72, Detective EVERETT C. OBENHEIN, Metropolitan Police Dept., Intelligence Division, advised his agency had no information nor inquiry concerning captioned subject.

*Re Assign  
1/9/73  
SHAW  
aff*

157-5411-3

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 19 1972	
FBI-WASHINGTON	

*1973*

1- WFO  
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5010-108

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(TRPCTITBPP)

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On May 12, 1972, Mary Ellen Perry, Senior Reporter, "Berkeley Post", was contacted through a pretense call and she stated that she had written the article captioned "Question Panther Leadership, Says 'People's' Group" and had interviewed Robert Anderson, who had identified himself as the spokesman for the group. It is noted that the "Berkeley Post" is a small local newspaper directed primarily at the Black and Mexican people living in the San Francisco/Oakland Bay Area. She stated that she had no way of identifying Robert Anderson and has no way of getting in touch with him or his group. She had asked Anderson what she could tell people who inquired about joining his group and he said that he did not want them to contact him, but rather to set up their own group and to do their own thing to make the revolution succeed.

On May 2, 1972, a suitable pretext telephone call was made to the "Berkeley Tribe" in an effort to obtain more information regarding the article published and the organization releasing the article. An unidentified male employee of the "Tribe" advised that the "Tribe" knew nothing more about the matter than appeared in the article published. He stated they had no source in the San Francisco Bay Area and any further forthcoming articles would depend on information furnished to them in the future. The man further indicated that the "Tribe" may discontinue any further publishing business in the near future. By May 15, 1972, a formal announcement was made by the "Berkeley Tribe" staff that they were terminating all business operations.

On June 1, 1972, following the arrest of David Jackson, Paul Michael Fleming, James Walter Evans and Deborah Andrea Porter in a third floor flat located at 666 Lyon Street, San Francisco, the apartment was searched. Among the things seized during the search by Special Agents of the FBI was a carbon copy of a two page item entitled, "The Black Community of Los Angeles Destroyed Both Panther Community Centers and Ran All the Panthers Out of Our Communities." The article ended "War Without Terms" and was signed "Revolutionary People's Commission to Investigate the Black Panther Party."

The above-described article appears similar to the printed statement described in the article appearing in the April 6, 1972, edition of the "Berkeley Post" and is as follows:



THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(TRPCTITBPP)

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Willie Rubin Turner, also known as Jon Turner, is a former Black Panther who headed the Berkeley Chapter of the BPP until September, 1971, when members of that chapter broke away from the BPP shortly after the death of George Jackson at San Quentin Prison. Turner is considered to be loosely aligned with the Cleaver Faction of the BPP.

David Jackson, who was formerly a member of the BPP Chapter at Berkeley, California, is currently in custody and awaiting trial in Miami, Florida, on charges of arson, following an incident stemming from activities of the Black Action Military Movement (BAMM), an organization which, in the past, has advocated acts of violence.

Paul Michael Fleming was formerly a Black Panther in Oakland, California, who has since been active in Black Student Union activities at Merritt College in Oakland and who is now considered a member of the Cleaver Faction, BPP.

Deborah Andrea Porter is a former member of the Berkeley Chapter of the BPP.

James Walter Evans was active in the Black Student Union at Merritt College, Oakland, California, and is now considered to be affiliated with the Cleaver Faction, BPP.

On August 3, 1972, Lance Gilmer, City Editor, "Berkeley Daily Gazette", a daily newspaper of Berkeley, California, 2049 Allston Way, Berkeley, was contacted regarding The Revolutionary People's Commission to Investigate the Black Panther Party and a Michael X, who had apparently tried to persuade the above people to publish an article written by a member of this group. Gilmer advised that he could not remember anything either about the man or the organization involved.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(TRPCTITBPP)

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On September 19, 1972, Mrs. Lari Blumenfeld, Police Reporter, "Berkeley Daily Gazette", Berkeley, California, advised that she had never heard of the above-captioned group nor had she heard of any attempt by any members of such a group to have the "Gazette" publish any article. Mr. Mike Culbert, Managing Editor, was asked the same question and also said that he had had no contact with anyone by the name of Michael X or Robert Anderson. Mrs. Blumenfeld stated that although she does have a certain amount of contact with certain members of the Black Panther Party it is usually only when they wish to give her a press release or obtain some favorable publicity. Mrs. Blumenfeld stated that should she hear anything concerning this group she would immediately notify the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

2/6/73

SAC, WFO (157-5411)(RUC)

The Revolutionary People's  
Commission to Investigate  
the Black Panther Party  
EM-BPP

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated  
10/30/72.

Referenced communication set forth a lead  
for San Francisco Division to obtain the address of  
MARY ELLEN PERRY in Washington, D.C. (WDC). The re-  
ferenced communication indicated that upon receipt of  
the information concerning PERRY's residence WFO would  
thereafter interview her.

Local telephone and Criss Cross Directories were  
checked and are negative for MARY ELLEN PERRY.

On 12/12/72, Detective EVERETT C. OBENHEIN,  
Metropolitan Police Department, (MPD), Intelligence  
Division, WDC advised his agency had no information con-  
cerning the captioned subject or MARY ELLEN PERRY's residence.

Inasmuch as investigation has not determined  
the whereabouts of MARY ELLEN PERRY this case is being  
RUC by the Washington Field Office. Should information  
concerning the whereabouts of MARY ELLEN PERRY become  
available WFO will take appropriate action.

It is noted the indices of the WFO contained no  
additional pertinent identifiable information concerning  
subject or MARY ELLEN PERRY.

2-Bureau  
2-San Francisco (157-7727)  
①-WFO

RSS:sgb  
(5)

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157-5411-4  
Searched \_\_\_\_\_  
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Filed \_\_\_\_\_

ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

2/23/73

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-7727) (C)

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMISSION  
TO INVESTIGATE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(RPCTITBPP)

EM - BPP

OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter and LHM to Bureau,  
dated 10/30/72 and WFO letter to Bureau, dated 2/6/73.

AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

On 2/22/73 ANN CASH, 1614 Channing Way, phone 415-848-0804, advised that she has had no contact with MARY ELLEN PERRY since she was last contacted. CASH stated she was only a neighbor of PERRY and believes PERRY is still somewhere in Washington, D.C. CASH is of the understanding that the fellowship PERRY received was such that she is not a student at any institution of higher learning in WDC. CASH advised no knowledge of PERRY's possible return to the Berkeley area.

It is noted that apart from the newspaper article referred to in reLHM, there has been no further reported activity by any group identifiable with the RPCTITBPP.

In light of the above, no further investigation in this matter is deemed appropriate at this time, and San Francisco is placing its case in a closed status.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
① WFO (157-5411)(Info)(RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
JTL/jtl  
(4)

CONSOLIDATED

Date: 2/23/73

File: RM

157-5411-8

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 26 1973	
FBI - WASH. FIELD OFFICE	
SHAW RLL	

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